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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY
OF MICHIGAN

MARCH 5 1954

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MARCH 1954

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

PUBLISHED BY

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157 WEST 13TH ST., NEW YORK 11, N.Y.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is published by The Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, Inc., monthly from September to May, inclusive. Publication and business office, 157 West 13th St., New York 11, N. Y. The subscription price is \$3.00 per year; foreign rates, Canadian and South American, \$3.25, all others, \$3.40; the price of single copies is 35 cents each. Orders for less than half a year will be charged at the single-copy rate.

Entered as second-class matter September 27, 1934, at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the Post Office at Manchester, N. H., authorized January 16, 1950.

THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY is indexed in *Educational Index*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, and *Business Education Index*.

The publishers of THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY are not responsible for the views held by its contributors.

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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

A Magazine of Theory and Practice

Vol. 27

March, 1954

No. 7

A PRINCIPAL LOOKS AT NEW YORK CITY'S SCHOOLS

Sigmund Fogler

In September more than half a million children returned to the public elementary schools of New York City to renew their education. In the light of recent school publicity it might be well to present the picture of the schools as they look to one who has spent more than a quarter century in their service. To what kind of schools, then, did they return to receive what kind of education?

Many angry, intemperate and prejudiced words have been spoken and written about the "new" education given the city's young; and it is time that we "take a look at the record" to see what actually is behind the Program of Elementary Education of the City of New York.

THE FRAME OF REFERENCE

Before we go into the history of the program and the actual setup as it exists, it would be well to set the frame of reference into which this educational picture fits.

Though in this country we do not have a national system of education, the national spirit is reflected in the educational pattern of each of the several states. This spirit, broadly indicated in the idiom "democracy" or "democratic", expresses itself in many ways, but its most basic concept is the inviolability and integrity of the individual, quâ individual.

In the course of its development in the last one hundred years, the democratic concept of education has sought to adapt its Protean form to the exigencies of its period or era. It is for this reason that "Progressive Education", whatever its contemporary name, has always been ahead of its time. Whether it was known as Lancastrianism or Herbartianism, it was one of the multiple facets of that urge for progress and forward-looking which is characteristic of civilized man, and is particularly indicative of democratically minded peoples.

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Much (a good deal of it nonsense) has been spoken and written about the "Activity Program" of which the Program of Elementary Education is New York City's adaptation. This concept is based on the twin Gibraltars of individual differences and the interdependence of peoples, the apparent dichotomy of which it seeks to reconcile. Actually, however, these are complementary factors in the same total historical process, coordinate and not exclusive, the interdependence being inherent in the natural linking of universal needs.

Though the modern idea of progressive education is perhaps half a century old, the development of the individual is today for the first time in recorded history clearly recognized as a function of the democratic state. An attempt is made to discover the interests, satisfy the needs, meet the desires, and develop the abilities of the individual child undergoing the educational process, so that he may, himself, be not only developed into the best person he is capable of becoming, but also, so that he may contribute at his highest functioning level, to the growing, developing, ever-changing democratic society of which he is a part.

In the current struggle between democracy and authoritarianism, as always in our people's history, our strength has been marshalled on the side of the angels. Abhorrent, then, as authoritarianism is to our national mode of thought, it is little wonder that education, which has held the hope for the salvation of mankind, should have had its current *renascence* and regeneration here. And since democracy enhances the dignity and inviolability of the individual and, through various legal and governmental agencies, seeks to protect him against the encroachments of groups and government itself, it is eminently fitting and proper that the most powerful, democratically minded people in the world take inventory of its educational processes and cast its lot with experimentation as opposed to authoritarianism.

It is held by those who oppose progressive education in any of its many forms that its philosophy and practice lead to flabbiness in thinking and anarchy in living. But these illusioned people err in two particulars: They err in that they believe that discipline by coercion is more effective than discipline by consent; that outer imposition is more powerful than inner compulsion; that "You must" produces better results than "I will". They err again in their belief that the dessicated pabulum of the three R's will nourish the intellectual competence, develop the moral fiber, and enlarge the emotional identification of children in the contemporary world.

Essentially, of course, these people suffer from a mother complex. Incapable of adjusting themselves to the multifarious demands of our current, complex civilization, they want to go back to a simpler day when the three R's were a sufficient educational diet. They are, of course, doomed to disappointment despite their determined attacks and their influential leadership; unless, of course, authoritarianism is successful in the current world-wide struggle. For a slave, naturally, has no need to think, nor to understand the organization of a society which he has no share in making. A helot needs no moral code since the state has sapped his individuality. The luxuries of thought and feeling are a handicap to a Zero unit in a state which exists only for the perpetuation of itself and the deification of its leader.

That is why "education" in the now-defunct totalitarian countries and in Russia (what we know of it) today is so efficient for its purposes — and so frightening.

A democracy, if it is to survive, cannot negate the basic tenets of its political and social beliefs in its teaching processes, just as an authoritarian state cannot afford to permit a type of education which stresses the value of the individual (The Soviets gave up their activity teaching in a hurry). Mere essentialism, based as it is on the authority of the text and the teacher, is inconsistent with the profession of democracy which places a proper value on the place of the child in the total educational process. Progressive teaching does not discard the tools of education; it merely gives them a proper setting in the frame of reference which surrounds an emerging one-world.

Though the relentless logic of history and current events indicates that the program of elementary education is the educational pattern of the present and the foreseeable future, the same source also teaches that no advances in human relationships have ever been achieved without struggle and sacrifice. We are, it appears, at the stage of development where traditionalism, which also has its Protean forms, is not yet dead, and progressive teaching is being born.

Teachers in many areas throughout the country are midwives attending this historic birth. The story of how the staff of the public schools of New York City is performing its professional ministrations will form the content of the remainder of this article.

NEW YORK CITY'S PROGRAM

Contrary to misinformed or ill-informed popular belief, the Program of Elementary Education in New York City was not foisted

upon the schools without adequate preliminary study.

In the mid-thirties, the Board of Education authorized the Superintendent of Schools to experiment with what was then generally known as the "Activity Program" with a view to adopting some or all of its procedures — based upon widely accepted, educationally progressive principles stemming from the educational thinking of John Dewey, William H. Kilpatrick and others — provided the results of the experiment in terms of child development and scholastic achievement justified such a step.

To this end, twenty elementary schools located in diverse areas of the City, and representing a cross-section of the educational pattern (from high-spot to problem area with all the socio-economic shadings to be found in a cosmopolitan community), and with the consent of the field superintendents and principals concerned, were designated as experimental schools. As controls, twenty others, as alike as its pair as could be statistically determined, were matched with these. Appropriate objective tests in scholastic and personal-social areas were administered to the two groups of schools; principals and teachers in the experimental schools were briefed in the necessary techniques; the experiment was conducted for six years, and the New York State Department of Education was called in to evaluate the results.

The now classic report of the State Committee assigned to this project made educational history. In brief, the committee found that in the scholastic areas measured, the experimental group did about as well as the control group, except in several of the language arts where it did better. But in the so-called intangibles — personality development and attitudes, for example — the experimental group was definitely superior.

It was on the basis of these findings that the Board of Superintendents approved the introduction of the "Activity Program" into the elementary schools.

In the Spring of 1942, the Elementary Division sent its first directives to heads of the elementary schools in which it authorized the introduction of "activity" techniques by those who felt that the program could be successfully introduced into their schools. Principals were further advised to spread the program as far, and to implement it as fast as they felt their staffs, their children, and their communities could absorb it. In due time the program was officially designated as the Program of Elementary Education by which name it is known today. The numerous instructions from Division Headquarters have never modified this basic organization of the program.

What, then, is the Program, what does it attempt to do, how has it achieved its purposes?

From a careful reading of the several paragraphs immediately above it is obvious that the implementation of the program in the more than 520 elementary schools in the city is left largely to local option. Proceeding on this assumption, heads of schools have introduced the program in such a variety of ways, with such modifications of procedure, breadth and depth of organization and inclusiveness that to give a single picture of it, is virtually impossible, since every school that has adopted the authorization has adapted it to its own situation in terms of teacher personnel, children's needs, community readiness, and other factors. However, all proceed on the basic philosophy of the child-centered, as distinct from the subject-centered, school. Briefly stated the theory is as follows:

The school is life. The child is the center of the educational process. The method is experience. The curriculum is emergent. In actual school application, how are these principles applied?

Just as the social and economic arrangements of adults are life to them, so the school which is the work-arrangement of society for its children, and all that goes on in it is life to them. Just as no one would maintain that all of adult life is encompassed in work, so no responsible educator maintains that all of child-life is included in the school's activities. School in this concept becomes, then, not a preparation for life, but, actually, just as work is, the process of life itself, though not in its entirety. The implications of this idea, however, are rich with ramifications which must be experienced if the life is to be full and round, instead of one-sided as is envisaged in the limited concept of school as a place where one masters certain scholastic skills (reading, writing, arithmetic). This explains why modern schools emphasize play, group, and social skills, the development of personality, as well as the mastery not only of so-called scholastic skills, but of creative expression as well.

In a simpler and a less well-informed world, it was perhaps possible to consider a child as a vessel into which certain information, thought to be vital, could be poured, to be drawn out at need or on call; or to change the figure, it could be conceived as a malleable entity in which could be developed certain limited skills (to read, to cipher, to write). But psychology and world events have taught differently; and now it is obvious that if schools exist for children; if teachers are trained to teach children (it will be noted that they are trained not just to teach, or teach subject-matter, but to teach children); if experiences, whether actual or vicarious, are devised to

help children to develop, to grow into the type of person our society needs and wants, the center of interest is not the subject-matter, the method, nor the teacher, important as these are, but the child. This concept, furthermore, conceives the child as a totality, as a unique creation (no two being alike), who brings his whole self into the classroom, and into every experiential (learning) situation, including his physical being, his psychical self, his emotional patterns. And these cannot be ignored at any time, except on the pain of failure, partial or total, in the realization of the learning at hand. Bearing this in mind, the reader can see that if Johnny or Mary has not had breakfast before coming to school; if the family has not been able to pay the rent; if there has been a quarrel between mother and father (the possibilities are legion), Johnny or Mary is not quite attuned to the abstractions of arithmetic, the symbolism of reading-words, the curlicues that are writing. The well-trained and able teacher in the modern school, seeing the child as a person, whole, unique, and inviolate, is aware of the difficulties (not all intellectual) which may impede his learning at any time, and takes appropriate steps to ready him physically, psychologically, and emotionally for the learning to be experienced.

Some people have literally gotten fits because some of the learning set out for children in school has been based on activity—actual experience—rather than on books (vicarious experience). Yet they are—or should be—aware of the fact that just as one picture is worth a thousand words, so one actual experience is worth a thousand pictures. In a basic sense, of course, all that one actually undergoes is experience; but actual experience, because personally lived through, is more vivid, more real, therefore better remembered, because concrete. What is meant, then, by learning through experience is that as much of the learning as can be concretized by bringing it into the classroom or bringing the learner to it, is so learned. Naturally, not all that needs to be learned can be taken out of the realms of verbalism, symbolism or representationalism. This explains why there is so much building, making, doing,—physical activity—in the modern classroom. It also makes clear why the children take so many trips to museums, galleries, factories, stores, docks, boats, trains, terminals, or just plain walks. Finally it shows why children today see so many movies (in school) and other forms of projected pictures, listen to the radio so much (there is currently talk of making television available), cut and mount flat pictures, construct dioramas and friezes, and do the hundred and one things which attempt to take ideas and concepts out of the abstract and concretize them.

In a static society (as in a static world), a curriculum can be fixed. If, and where, there are verities — immutable and eternal — they can well form the core of a curriculum, that is, a course of study. But in secular education, there are no such things. Granted there are established "facts", and these may be "taught"; but since there are millions of them — so many that no single individual can learn them all in any given area of human knowledge in a lifetime of devotion — the subject matter of the school's teaching is matter of concern not only to the professional educator, but to the lay public as well. But with the frontiers of science (the basis of knowledge) being pushed forward with a speed that leaves all but the pioneers behind; with the conquest of space making the furthest reaches of the globe but a neighborhood extension; with occurrences half a globe away having immediate repercussions in our own, most intimate lives; with discovery, invention, and scientific revelation crowding so thick and fast upon us that the novelty of yesterday is the cliché of today, what can be said for a fixed curriculum which, presumably, sets forth the only worthwhile content of study? Recall what the modern age has done to Euclidean mathematics, Galilean and Newtonian physics, Lavoisierian chemistry, Faradayian electricity — to mention the most "fixed", the most "irrefutable and incontrovertible" of learnings. This, however, does not mean to say that curriculum cores which children and youth need, indeed must, learn, cannot be devised. Much, be it remembered, has been established that is basic in all the learning areas, and which do form the cores around which curriculums can, and are, built. The emergent curriculum merely is predicated upon the sound idea that a functioning curriculum should be flexible and pliable — constantly changing with the needs and knowledges of the times, constantly in the process of revision, and possibly, too, according to local needs. In addition, it requires that there be room in the day's work for considering those unforeseen and unpredictable occurrences which, in a living organism which is the modern school, are constantly happening, and which, as much as anything that has been, or can be, written upon the leaves of a syllabus, are part of the given learning materials into which they may fit and to which they give the life-blood of concrete experience. Be it remembered, finally, that basic courses of study in all the accepted areas of elementary learning exist, and are being used. All that is happening to them is that they are being rearranged.

With these principles to guide it, the modern (currently "progressive") school attempts — and succeeds — not only to teach the three R's, but to give children a concept of their places and their

functions in the local community (neighborhood, city, state, nation) and in the world, but also to develop rich and varied personalities. It does this in a multitude of ways and by means of a vast variety of activities, among which the following need mention.

READING

No longer, as in "the good old days", is a child, at age six in his first school year, regardless of his psychological capacities and emotional preparedness thrown into the intricacies of reading, every child being treated as if he were an assembly-line product, who could learn to put meaning into "I see a cow", "The cow sees me". (Today, teachers spend at least the first four years of reading-teaching in having children learn to *put* meaning into words; thereafter, children learn to *get* meaning from words.) As a matter of fact, few city children ever having seen a cow, they used to read the words (without meaning) so that the word *cow* got whatever significance it had for the individual child from the picture that usually accompanied the text. The picture, being small, naturally gave an erroneous impression of the size of the animal. Since there was no discussion leading to concept development (enrichment of ideas), children were left with the idea that cows were no larger than mice! This could hardly happen today, since in their first school year, children spend their time in getting ready for reading (called reading readiness). This is done by means of a great variety of experiences and activities with a large number of concrete and pictured things, and by trips and excursions, clarified by much conversation. Only when children are ready (determined by objective tests) do they begin to learn to read from a book which is a part of a carefully planned, psychologically sound, reading system (of which there are many) at the conclusion of which (at the end of six years) the boys and girls have a large, meaningful reading vocabulary, as well as broad and deep concepts and insights, which give them an excellent basic tool with which to unlock the secrets of words printed elsewhere. Generally, most children do not show readiness for reading until the end of their first school year, or when they are about six and a half years of age. They begin to read, then, when they are ready. Since not all children learn at the same rate of speed, nor to the same degree of competence (and these differences show up immediately), they are grouped according to readiness, maturity, and ability, and proceed, thus, at their own pace.

LANGUAGE ARTS

The modern school includes in this area a large variety of skills, from the kindergarten through the grades. Dividing the field into oral and written expression, teachers guide children in the techniques of exchanging ideas (conversation, telephoning, interviewing, discussing, introducing, etc.) ; speaking to impart ideas (dictating, reporting, story-telling, dramatizing, broadcasting, reading to others, etc. etc.) ; listening and observing (listening to a speaker, listening to the radio, sound motion pictures, TV, listening to recordings, etc.) ; letter writing; expressional, subjective or creative writing (stories, poems, plays, book reports) ; formal writing (taking notes, making outlines, filling in forms, copying printed materials, etc.) ; improving the mechanics of written expression; studying. As can be seen, no area of legitimate and profitable interest a child may have in receiving and communicating ideas orally or in writing, is neglected ; certainly this is a richer educational offering than the adults of today experienced in the three-R schools of their childhood and youth. Oral speech and written language are held to the level achievable by the individual child within a community framework, rather than to outside standards.

MATHEMATICS

When "we were very young", we learned arithmetic by rote. This writer still recalls getting up to recite the Multiplication Table (any table). That neither he nor his classmates necessarily understood the relationship of the numbers being glibly spoken (number-perfection was the key to success) did not matter. It is to be doubted whether many — or any — understood the ordinal or cardinal relationships of numbers — what "seven" or "seventh", for example, really means. But so long as the thousand or so number facts were recited, the child was a good pupil in Arithmetic. And when it came to problem-solving — working examples — drilled patterns of response, rather than reasoning and seeing relationships, applied as well.

It is not so today. In the city's public schools (currently reaching into the fourth year) children are taught what is known as "developmental mathematics". By means of long, interesting activities with blocks, marbles, chalk, splints (many things), then with semi-concrete (pictured) things; with number frames and abacus, children are given insight into number relationships. They know, for example, that seven means $6+1$, $1+6$, $5+2$, $2+5$, $4+3$, $3+4$, $7+0$, $0+7$;

that "seventh" means between 6 and 8 in a series of ten. In short, they have insight; they have concepts; they really understand what they are saying, what it means when they say $6 \times 7 = 42$. Should they forget, they can always work the product out themselves, knowing what the relationship is, what 6×7 really means. The same is true of problem-solving. In this field, too, children progress at their individual rates, and since not all advance equally, they are grouped for instruction and help.

WRITING

Because manuscript (print) writing so closely resembles the print in books, children today are taught this type of writing in the first three years. (This helps to tie in writing with reading.) In the third year cursive (connected, flowing) writing is introduced. After mastering the latter type, children may use either.

SOCIAL STUDIES

In the "good old days" the content of what is now encompassed in the social studies area — geography, history, civics, and related topics — was taught as separate subjects. The change was made for an interesting reason. Geography is the study of the home of man. History is the study of the activities of man on this earth. Civics is the study of the institutions that Americans have set up for the guidance of their activities on this home. Any reasonable consideration of these three facets of man's interests, would indicate their unity and indivisibility except for special purposes. So the social studies were re-activated. As presently experienced in schools, they stress cause and effect, relationships and interrelationships, understandings, empathy (identification with others), rather than sailor-geography and pin-points in history, though events, places, names, and dates are not neglected. A curious and interesting fact may be cited at this point. Nicholas Murray Butler entered Columbia University with a condition in Geography because he failed to name all the capes and promontories between the Euxine and the Baltic in Latin and in English!) As an example of what children learn today the following may be presented as typical. This is for kindergarten and first-year children. (Older generations did not begin to become acquainted with man's arrangements for utilizing and living on this earth until the fourth school year, and then only quite formally):

Acquaintance with school; living together in school; living to-

gether at home; recreation at school and at home; seasonal activities; observance of holidays; transportation within the neighborhood; care of plants and animals; communication.

Lest it be thought that the course of study in social studies is limited only to this type of material, it should be pointed out that in their elementary school years, the boys and girls study the geography of the United States, the other Americas, the other continents of the world; the history of the United States (twice); the political and social institutions of the city, state, and nation, and much more. But they study it in integrated, rather than discrete form. By this is meant that, instead of studying geography, history, and civics separately, they are correlated whenever possible, by means of unit study, of which more later.

SCIENCE

People who read these lines recall that they did not begin to become acquainted with this area of human knowledge until their seventh school year, and then only by a series of classroom experiments designed to show some of the qualities and properties of selected items of matter, and a principle or two underlying the functioning of several simple machines. Today's school population begins to be aware of the world and what man's scientific ingenuity has done with it in the kindergarten; and their experiences both selected and as they occur, emphasize the visible operation of scientific principles in the home, in the community, in the school, in the world of industry, and in nature. As an illustration, it may be pointed out that even kindergartners get some insight into why it snows, why it rains, what causes the wind to blow, what keeps boats afloat, what wheels do for transportation, and so on *ad infinitum*.

Nor is safety at home, in the school, in the street neglected. Furthermore, health (how to maintain and improve it) is an important aspect of daily school living in all grades.

So much, then, for the "formal" aspects of elementary school education. Since "enrichment" is an important facet of modern educational philosophy, schools give children to a greater or lesser degree (depending on the professional and personal preparation of staff members), experience in music (vocal and instrumental), art, (the burgeoning of which in all schools at all grade levels is one of the truly remarkable phenomena of the modern school's attempt "to raise the lid", and let children be themselves and speak of the world as they see it, and of their inner selves, in terms of color, line, proportion, balance, harmony, and so forth. This, itself, is a fascinating

aspect of the effect of the Program, but cannot be further discussed here.) arts and crafts, creative writing, the dance, dramatics, and the like. All children, for example, are taught folk and square dancing; in some schools, the older ones (thirteen and fourteen year-olds) have opportunity for social dancing as well.

The modern school attempts to present learning situations not by the method of recitations, question and answer, in which the teacher (usually with an open textbook before her) asked questions, and children answered what they had presumably learned before in school or at home, but by study of a unit and by committee reports.

Briefly, a unit is a series of learning experiences for developing a central theme involving a problem or series of problems. Thus, a sixth year class may, with the advice and guidance of the teacher, select as one of the several units it will study during the year "Our Southern Neighbors". In this unit, the class will study the geography, history, governmental and social institutions, customs; modes of living and so forth, of the Latin-American countries. The class will become acquainted with their history, their geography, their dress, their food, their languages, their music, their dances. The class will center its language arts and its arithmetic work and literature work around this core, as well as its arts and crafts, its art, in fact, as much of the curriculum as can be integrated with the topic. In the course of the school year, most of the knowledges and skills agreed upon to-be-learned in the sixth year curriculum will have been experienced in a series of wisely-chosen units.

Materials not covered by the units are studied independently under proper motivation.

The unit selected, committees are formed for various aspects of the topic (Foods, Geography, History, Amusements, etc.) to do research in textbooks, libraries, museums, in fact, wherever information may be gained (sometimes from parents or other people who may know). Trips to appropriate places (museums, consulates, buildings, etc.) are taken by the class. When a committee is ready to give its report, its members speak their lines from their own prepared outlines. The rest of the class takes notes of pertinent items. When all reports are in, and a number of other activities have taken place, a culmination takes place. This may take the form of an assembly program, a class exhibit, a party, or other activity which will unify and integrate the learnings that have taken place and reveal the attitudes that have been developed. All along the line, evaluations, both teacher and pupil, have taken place. These evaluations will have been

in the form of tests, expressed opinions, interim reports, performances of various kinds, construction, art, and so on.

From what has been written so far, it is obvious that, far from neglecting basic learnings, developing desirable work-habits, and inculcating socially valuable attitudes, the program of education in today's schools gives children a rich and varied background which makes them not only good Americans, but also splendid world citizens.

There remain only three other matters that need some clarifications. One of these is the role the pupils play in planning their daily activities; another, the matter of continuous progress; the last, how well this type of program prepares the children for living in today's world.

Somehow, it has gotten abroad that children in today's schools do pretty much as they please. Nothing, however, can be further from the truth. This mistaken notion undoubtedly arises from the daily planning in which teacher and pupils engage as part of the psychologically sound assumption that a shared plan is an accepted, part-of one's own plan.

Before discussing this daily planning, it is necessary to point out several things. The Board of Education, the Board of Superintendents, principals and teachers have a moral obligation not only to the community which appoints or employs them, but to the children as well. No course of study, has been eliminated. What has been done is to reorganize subject matter along more psychological lines; to allow wide latitude in mode of experiencing this subject matter; to pay more attention to the learner as a developing human being than was done heretofore. Furthermore, the City as a subdivision of the State, must meet, in its subject-matter content, the basic minima set down by the State Department of Education. Therefore, to assume that children are allowed to do what they please (which would be anarchy) is to assume that the State Education Department and the Board of Education are negligent in their sworn duty. On the face of it, this is absurd. Teachers are not anarchists though they may be innovators.

The daily plan, then, is a product resulting from a guided pupil-teacher discussion in which sequences of studies or experiences, and time allotments during the day are mutually agreed upon, the teacher, as a member of the group, using her experience, her superior judgment, her knowledge of the curriculum, the school's objectives; the needs and capacities of the children, and other such criteria, in the final determination. Children simply are not given the license to

determine whether they shall study this or that. They do, however, share in laying out the sequence and the time allotment within the fixed items of the day's activities (recess, assembly, and the like). And this only if they are mature enough.

Disgruntled parents, hoping to use the school as a club over children whom they have not learned how to manage, are disturbed by the fact that children today are not left back (heldover) in the wholesale fashion of the days of yore. In fact, they say, everybody is promoted, no matter what. Well, this is literally not true, since children are held back, though not in their first school year or two. When children are held back, it is for excessive absence (a child simply missed the necessary experiences with his age-group), or for refusal to work with his group. These are legitimate, because psychological and logical, reasons for non-promotion. The reasons for "promoting" almost all children are equally compelling. If the elementary school is conceived as a place where children experience planned activities resulting in the development of desirable feelings and attitudes (personality and character), and the acquisition of certain skills and knowledges, on the basis of individual ability and growth, how can it be said that just so much shall have been developed and learned at this given grade level? The statement of the situation points up its illogicality. The elementary school, therefore, advances, the members of a class group into the next grade (with the exceptions noted above) on the reasonable assumption first, that a child can work better with children of his own age-level than with children younger than himself; second, that a child, satisfying his own interests, needs, and abilities has gotten out of a given set of experiences all he can absorb — or benefit from these experiences; third, that since the individual is the unit of measure, he who is too far behind the level of response of his classmates will be helped by them and the teacher to reach more nearly the development of the age-groups; fourth, that there is a wide disparity in any area of achievement in any kind of grouping; fifth, that since learning and developing are continuous, it is psychologically and emotionally unsound to say that because a child has not reached a fixed, arbitrary level of achievement at a certain time, he has failed, and should be held back; sixth, that there is no conclusive evidence that keeping children back helps them learn in the second try what they did not learn in the first (in fact, the evidence is just the reverse: that children who are held back, develop emotional blocks to re-learning which have a deleterious effect on their future learning); and finally, since development is at least as important as learning, the continuum is destroyed if con-

tinous progress is broken. In the light of today's concept of the functions and purposes of elementary school life, the rewards of promotion and the punishment of staying back, simply do not fit.

We come, now, to a consideration of how effectively the schools are doing the new job they were authorized (but not mandated) to do twelve years ago.

One of the many duties the Board of Education's Bureau of Educational Research performs, is the spot-testing of vast segments of the school's pupil population at various times during the school year. Thus, for example, the Bureau will test all the city's third year children in reading, all the fifth year children in work-study skills, all the sixth year children in arithmetic, and so forth. However, it does test, annually, all the eighth grades in reading, arithmetic, and intelligence. Since this is not the place to present tables of data, all that can be stated is this: In intelligence, New York City's children have a normal intelligence with many above, and many below the norm. In reading, eighth grade children do better today (and in the last ten years) than they did before, and that this status is higher than the national norms in this area. In arithmetic, eighth grade children are definitely superior to the national norm. From the viewpoint of achievement in scholastic subjects measured by the Bureau, nothing has been lost by the introduction of the Program of Elementary Education. On the other hand, achievement has been improved.

Unfortunately, the Bureau has not given tests in other school subjects, nor in aspects of personality development and attitude growth, and other so-called intangibles.

However, from this writer's experience (he has data bearing on these aspects in his own school), it may definitely be stated, that the current program is developing youngsters of whom the community may well be proud; for they are children well-grounded in academic knowledges and skills, with well-developed personal-social attitudes and skills, poised, well-spoken, fairly sure of themselves, with a degree of independence that does not interfere with their cooperativeness, and imbued with an Americanism that is founded four-square in democratic modes of living; which means, if it means anything, an interest in, and an awareness of, the world in which they live, and with a sense of responsibility for and duty to, their fellow-men which promises well for the future of a democratic world.

Sigmund Fogler is principal of P. S. 233, Brooklyn, New York.

THE TOUCHSTONE OF INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Arthur M. Prinz

The basis of Marxism lies in the materialist conception of history. Time and again has its creation been celebrated by Marxists as the most glorious of their master's great feats. Marx's life-time friend Engels set the pattern when he claimed in his funeral oration: "Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution of organic history."

Although several important notions in Marx's theory of history were inadequately or not at all defined, — which gave rise to an unending flood of interpretations—its main idea is clear enough: viz. that the real motive-power of history is to be sought in material interests, especially economic class interests, whereas all mere ideas, not backed up by such interests, possess only a fictitious existence and are historically ineffectual. Accordingly, Marx and Engels proclaimed that the victory of Socialism would not come about because of any increase in human kindness or sense of justice — as the disguised "Utopian Socialists" imagined, — but because the inexorable laws of economic development would compel the proletariat to recognize and ruthlessly pursue its only overriding interest: the overthrow of Capitalism. For, according to Marx, the workers' lot under Capitalism was utterly hopeless; all technical and scientific progress only served to "save labor", i. e. to deprive vast numbers of proletarians of their jobs and thus to increase the pressure on wages and working conditions of those still clinging to their jobs. Further, capitalist competition must, in the long run, ruin more and more members of the middle class who then would "fall into the proletariat", thus swelling its ranks. Even many former Capitalists must lose out in the competitive struggle with larger firms and would be, too, thrown into the proletariat, while a diminishing number of "capital magnates" monopolized all the benefits accruing from the progress of science. There is no bright spot in this sombre picture — but for the growing solidarity, strength and resolution of the international proletariat. The famous battle-cry of the "Communist Manifesto": "Workingmen of all countries, unite!" drew its compelling force from the preceding sentences: "Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. *The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.*"

II

When Marx, between 1844 and 1847, arrived at his conception of history, he was still a young man in his twenties and not yet much

of an economist;¹ for he had devoted most of his time to philosophy and to the study of certain historical periods, like the French Revolution. In expressing, in the Communist Manifesto, the conviction that under Capitalism the worker's lot could only go from bad to worse, Marx was not saying anything particularly new or startling; on the contrary; not only the early Socialists, but even the most outstanding British economists — men like Ricardo, Malthus and James Mill — had, each in his way, expressed the same opinion. And far beyond the circles of learned economists and socialist writers, the belief that "the poor were getting poorer while the rich were getting richer" was generally accepted as true by the public all over Europe.²

Obviously, this would have been impossible, had this theory been clearly contradicted by facts. But the facts that were, in the first half of the 19th century, striking the eye of impartial observers only seemed to confirm the pessimistic theories.

III.

Modern historical research has left little doubt about the fateful combination of circumstances that created the social distress that characterized the emergence of a full-fledged Capitalism at the end of the 18th and in the first half of the 19th century. With sources within everybody's reach, there is no need to go into details.³ But when the mid-century mark had been passed, the transitory character of the unfavorable circumstances became evident and the conditions of the working class, especially in England, began to show a marked improvement. Social legislation — at first only fumbling and rather ineffectual, but later growing bold with increasing experience and social approval — remedied many of the early abuses of Capitalism. The growth of the cooperative movement and the increasing strength of the trade unions raised the workers' purchasing and bargaining power. Britain's successful free-trade policy did much to lower the prices of bread and other consumer goods. But above all, the drastic change for the better may be attributed to three causes. First, to the general prosperity that was heralded by the gold

¹Marx's stupendous knowledge of economics and sociology was acquired later, in the long years of his London exile 1849-1883)

²See the excellent work by Robert Michels: "Die Verelendungstheorie" (Leipzig, 1928). Unlike other works by the same author, this book has not yet been translated.

³Suffice it to mention the various works of G. M. Trevelyan, especially his "English Social History", and an excellent brief presentation: "England in the 19th century", by David Thomson (Pelican book, 1950).

discoveries in California and Australia at the middle of the century. For more than two decades, this prosperity was hardly dented by any depression; later, it is true, there were severe and prolonged slumps, but on the whole the economic trend still pointed unmistakably upwards. Although high birth rates and falling death rates combined to increase rapidly the populations of every European country except France, even the growing numbers of people could enjoy higher standards of living. Secondly, the fruits of this prosperity were shared by practically all classes. Far from "disappearing" and "falling into the proletariat", the middle class, in England as in Germany and other countries, grew more rapidly than total population; and this naturally had an important bearing on the lot of the working class. For, whereas during the last decades of the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, there had indeed been large numbers of former craftsmen who, ruined by the cheap products of new industries, had swelled the ranks of job-seeking workers, this source of additional labor-supply later dwindled to insignificance. On the other hand, however, — and this is the third factor — *mass emigration to overseas countries*, constituted, in the second half of the 19th century, a heavy drain on the labor market in Britain and other European countries.

The result of all these factors was an unmistakable rise in the general standard of living of the British masses. And the English workers knew it full well. It is characteristic that in Britain — where both Marx and Engels spent the greatest part of their adult lives and which they regarded the classical and decisive capitalist country — Marxism, for many decades, made virtually no headway.⁴ The British workers who had been in revolutionary ferment during the period of Chartism (1837-1848), subsequently lost all fervor for the overthrow of Capitalism, as they felt that in a revolution they had a great deal more to lose than "their chains".

IV.

Was the rise of the British working class during the latter part of the 19th Century mainly due to an exceptional combination of circumstances, more especially to the industrial and commercial supremacy which their country then was enjoying? Or did the condition of the masses at that time improve also in other important

⁴Marx had published the first volume of "Capital" in 1867. When he died, in 1883, his work had been translated into several languages, but not into English, although he always laid the greatest stress on this translation. His and Engels' letters often express anger at the "middle class mentality" of the British workers, not to mention their leaders.

countries? Again, there can be little doubt about the answer. On the European continent, it was particularly Germany with her rapidly developing industry that showed rising living standards of the masses despite a considerable increase in total population. But much more striking was the economic development of the United States, the first non-European country to become a leading capitalist power. While millions of "green" immigrants lived in poverty and squalor,⁵ their situation tended to improve with the length of their stay in the new country; the majority of the American-born workers, however, enjoyed a standard of living quite unprecedented anywhere else. When, at the beginning of this century, a famous German economist sought an answer to the puzzling question why there was no Socialism in the United States, he stressed as one of the main factors the high living standard of the American worker which, in Werner Sombart's opinion, was about equal to that of the German middle class.⁶ And a second factor that largely accounted for America's lacking interest in Socialist schemes and movements lay in the individualism of the American worker who often felt that he or at least his children might rise above their class. In any case, the masses of native-born workers, far from believing in international class solidarity and the violent overthrow of Capitalism, became more and more conscious of their position as *privileged minority within the proletariat*; and were quite willing to fight in order to preserve and extend their privileges.

It was the long-drawn-out *struggle over immigration policy* in which the American worker's hostility towards his less fortunate fellow-proletarians abroad found its most dramatic manifestation. As far back as 1850 there had been, especially on the West coast, a great deal of friction between American workers and Chinese immigrants; and in 1879 the Californian population, with the workers in the vanguard, had demanded the exclusion of all Chinese immigration. Even after the passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, this bitter enmity did not subside; on the contrary, it reached a climax in 1886 when, in the wake of widespread unemployment, "every kind of outrages and barbarous assaults, of manslaughter and murder" was committed.⁷ But in these and similar cases it would be unfair to attribute all the hostility against the immigrants

⁵For a classical description of conditions in New York towards the end of the century see "How the other half lives", by Jacob Riis. (New York, 1891)

⁶Sombarts instructive little book appeared in 1905.

⁷See the appalling material in Jean Delevskv's excellent work: "Antagonismes sociaux et antagonismes prolétariens" (Paris, 1924).

only to the American workers' fear of cheap labor; racial antagonism, too, played an important part. Later, however, when the issues of Asiatic immigration had, to all intents and purposes, been settled by legislation, the paramount importance of purely economic interests became but too evident. In the first decades of this century the American workers, mostly led by the American Federation of Labor, ceaselessly agitated for severe immigration restrictions — although the would-be emigrants in over-crowded countries like Italy were often not only the proletarian brethren, but blood brothers or cousins of American workers who had been lucky enough to come here earlier. On the other hand, most American capitalists, in search of cheap labor, were ardent champions of a liberal immigration policy! What an ironic comment on the theory of an international class solidarity of the proletariat!

V.

For three decades after the vanishing of the frontier, the U. S., despite the pressure of organized labor and the increasing warnings of intellectuals, remained open to virtually every healthy white immigrant. She might have remained so much longer, but for the experiences of the First World War that shocked and frightened the nation. When a single military training camp had to employ interpreters for forty languages while one fourth of the draftees turned out to be illiterate — the American people took alarm at such chaotic conditions and demanded drastic immigration restrictions. The Acts passed in 1921, 1924 and 1929 — at a time when more Europeans than ever before were eager to leave the impoverished, restless and inflation-ridden continent — marked not only a turning point in the history of this country, but were also of the highest international significance. They may well be regarded as the end of the era of Liberalism that had begun after the Napoleonic wars.

Let us consider at least some of the most far-reaching consequences. In the U. S., the sharp reduction of the supply of fresh immigrant labor⁸ was bound to lead to a higher level of wages and to the introduction of more labor-saving machinery; thus further increasing the already huge difference in wages and working condi-

⁸The reduction, though, was not as great as the law had intended; for the reduced legal immigration from "quota countries" was partly compensated by increased legal immigration from non-quota countries, chiefly Mexico and Canada, as well as by a larger illegal influx. For some interesting material see: "Immigration attitudes and policies", in the volume "When people meet", ed. by Alain Locke and B. J. Stern. (Progressive Education Association, Committee on Workshops. New York, 1942)

tions between American and European workers generally.⁹ This latter effect became the more marked as other important immigration countries, impressed with the American example and scared by the danger of being flooded by millions of European emigrants now barred from American soil, adopted more restrictions of their own. In this respect, it was especially Australia, quite underpopulated though it was, that became notorious for her restrictive and discriminatory immigration policy.

In Europe, these measures which shut off the major emigration outlets at a time when they were most sorely needed, were received with widespread dismay. Especially bad blood was caused by the deliberate and sharp discrimination which the American Quota Acts showed against the heavily populated countries of South and East Europe, while according the largest quota to Great Britain whose emigrants were anyway preferred by the British Dominions. That in the long run all this would prove highly detrimental to the political stability of the world, was clearly recognized by far-sighted Europeans like Albert Thomas, then director of the International Labor Office in Geneva and one of the outstanding leaders of European Labor. In 1927, he declared that new and terrible wars would break out, unless a solution was found to the international migration problem.

Whether this pessimism was well founded, may be judged by the manner in which the migration question was exploited by Mussolini. Here, for one, was a European leader who was not at all unhappy about immigration restrictions. For in his efforts to substitute for Marxism the new ideology of Fascism — an ideology possessed of much less theoretical depth and brilliance, but just as replete with plausible half-truths and revolutionary implications — Mussolini found his most telling arguments, by referring to Italy's teeming population and the unwillingness of overseas countries to admit Italian immigrants. Was not this attitude of foreign governments, but even more so the overseas trade unions, irrefutable proof that there was no such thing as international solidarity, proletarian or otherwise, and that the Marxist doctrine of the workers' international brotherhood was a fraud? In every village that had sons abroad, this language was understood and prepared the ground for the more characteristically Fascist ideas: that whole nations like Italy were really "have-nots" or proletarians as compared to land-

⁹According to Sombart, writing in 1925, the American Worker's standard of living was two to three times as high as the average European's.

rich countries like the U. S. or Britain with her huge empire; that there was really an *international class-war among nations*, and that poor nations like Italy must be strong and united to take, if need be by force, what was their due:¹⁰ This was "il imperialismo della povera gente", the imperialism of the poor — whose consequences were to achieve world-wide notoriety.

VI.

While the increased economic and political power that Labor generally wielded in the inter-war period was used constructively in certain fields — as shown by the concerted international efforts to improve the legal regulation of working hours, — interests clashed sharply and bitter struggles were fought out over migration policies. The reasons for the intractability of the migration problem from the standpoint of international labor lie not so much in such rather over-emphasized short-run difficulties as the immigrants' low living standards and lack of organization, as in the fundamental fact that every mass immigration must, in the long run, affect the *crucial ratio between population and natural resources* which, in turn, is one of the main determinants of the marginal productivity of labor and therefore of the wage level. While in countries like Australia or Canada, whose natural resources are still largely unexploited, immigration may well be conducive to higher living standards for all, there is every reason to assume that in fairly settled countries like the U. S. the population optimum has been reached or is within close reach, so that every mass immigration would tend to lower the living standards of the population. Advocacy of a liberal immigration policy would therefore have implied — and still implies — a readiness on the part of the workers in countries like the U. S. to sacrifice some of their own immediate interests for the sake of ulterior motives — e.g. to help the proletarians of overpopulated countries or to preserve at least a semblance of working class solidarity. Here, then is a *real touchstone of international solidarity*, and by fighting, tooth and nail against any mass influx even into half-empty countries like Australia labor demonstrated¹¹ that it did

¹⁰That Mussolini cared nothing for the alleviation of the misery and suffering that go with overpopulation, but had set his heart on the glories of conquest, is conclusively shown by his rigorous suppression of birth control and his manifold efforts to raise the Italian birth rate!

¹¹It is a pleasant duty to note that after the Second World War organized labor in the U. S. adopted a much more generous and far-sighted attitude concerning the admission of European refugees. But to see this matter in

not believe in or care for the international solidarity of the working class, — but, in its own way, firmly adhered to at least one main tenet of Marxism: viz. that all ideas not backed up by economic interests are doomed to impotence.

VII.

But is this true? Are indeed all ideas not in harmony with economic interests doomed to be ineffectual? It is one of the truly remarkable phenomena of our time that while the unity of the powerful labor movement did not withstand the strain imposed upon it by the migration problem, a much younger and smaller movement did and still does. Zionism — whose history does not date further back than to the eighteen-eighties — is a unique mixture of age-old religious elements and a romantic nationalism that unmistakably belongs to the 19th century. Started by a few idealists who were shocked by such crude manifestations of anti-semitism as the Dreyfus trial in France and Russian pogroms, it slowly gained momentum among the poor in Eastern Europe and among idealistic university students. When the first World War and the peace negotiations offered a unique opportunity which Zionist leaders, headed by Dr. Weizmann, seized with consummate skill, Palestine, that had been a mere Turkish province, became a British Mandated Territory in which the Jews were entitled to establish "a national home" — a new and undefined notion which Briton, Jew and Arab were to interpret each in his own way. Although the vast majority of the well-to-do Jews in Western Europe and America continued to give Zionism the cold shoulder, or, at best, to regard it as a charitable venture for the poor and persecuted, the movement gained ground — even in the literal sense: in a slow and painful process, ground was purchased and colonized by a people long alienated from the soil. But immigration was on a very modest scale until Hitler's savage persecution changed the picture. Coming at a time when the world economic crisis had blocked most opportunities of normal immigration, it made Palestine the only haven for hundreds of thousands of Jews. From 1933 to 1939, immigration rose sharply and, to the mind of the native Arab population, alarmingly. Eager to retain the friendship of the Arab world on the eve of a new world war, the British introduced and ruthlessly enforced drastic immigration restrictions against the Jews for whom free admission had become proper perspective, one must realize that the admission of a few hundred thousand refugees, as an exceptional measure, is not likely to have any serious economic effect at a time when the natural population increase of the U. S. has reached the amazing figure of more than two and a half million a year!

a matter of life and death. The local Jewish population of about 650,000 passionately espoused the cause of free immigration, refused to recognize the validity of the new laws, and systematically defied them by organizing and shielding an "illegal" immigration. Although during the world war Jews and Britons fought side by side, the irreconcilable conflict over migration policy remained and having smouldered all through the war, broke at its end into flames powerful enough to consume the British Mandate.

When out of chaos, civil and foreign war the new state was born, Israel, too, had to face the immigration problem, though under very different circumstances. As most of the citizens of the new state had originally come from East and Central Europe, the death of 6 million Jews in Hitler's gas chambers filled almost every family with deepest sorrow and anguish and a burning desire to save at least the survivors from European D. P. camps. With financial aid from abroad, this aim was achieved during the very first years of the new state — though, of course, the economic absorption of the newcomers was again a very different matter, requiring much more time, perseverance, ingenuity, and, last not least, capital.

But although the rescue of the "D. P.s" imposed a tremendous strain on Israel's shaky economy, in the eyes of the country's leaders this was only the beginning. For had not the very birth of the state made the situation of the Jews in several Arab countries, especially in Irak, almost desperate? Was it not Israel's ineluctable duty to rescue these hostages? And what about the Jews in other countries in the Middle East and North Africa, mostly living in dire poverty¹² and often in fear of persecution? But above all, was not the fate of several hundred thousand Jews in the "Satellite states", especially Hungary and Rumania, a matter of extreme concern? Should Israel stand idly by till they would suffer the same tragic fate that had long befallen the two million Russian Jews — to be deprived of their religious life and Jewish identity?

On these questions, there was and is no unanimity in Israel. Ben Gurion, the country's strongest personality, and until recently its Prime Minister, feels the exigencies of the present situation, the military need for additional manpower, and, above all, the sense of the biblical prophecies about the "ingathering of the exiles" demand

¹²For centuries, the Jews in oriental countries like Morocco, Yemen, Irak or Persia had developed along very different lines from those living in the Western world; therefore the immigrants from these countries had also hardly anything in common with the majority of the Israeli population, except for the religious bond. One must realize this to appreciate the self-sacrificing spirit of the Israelis.

a maximum of immigration and settlement — "regardless of economic consequences", to use his own words. And the thinking of large sections of the population is, in varying degrees, dominated by one or the other of these motives.

But on the other hand there are those who do not have the "Messianic complex" of which Ben Gurion's critics derisively speak, nor his overpowering sense of history; but who, instead, possess a keen eye for economic realities. As the sacrifices and restrictions imposed for the sake of the immigrants cut deeper into the flesh of the population, the arguments of this latter group have been gaining influence.

What, then, are the economic realities which this group sees? First, an unabated military danger calling, year after year, for a large unproductive outlay. Second, the continued blockade by the adjacent Arab states, which raises the cost of living and cost of production in Israel and narrows down her export markets; third, the appalling inadequacy of the country's exports to pay for more than a fraction — about one fifth — of the necessary imports; fourth, the scarcity of actually productive natural resources and the need for much time and investment capital to develop latent potentialities; fifth, a rather low standard of living which makes every further reduction more harsh and hazardous than the preceding; and sixth, as a result of the above-mentioned and a host of lesser difficulties, an extreme dependence on continued assistance from abroad which, however, may be jeopardized by every turn of the economic or political tides in New York, Washington and perhaps even Bonn.

To an economist, such conditions cannot be but a horrible nightmare; and, despite its extreme reluctance, even the Israeli government has lately been compelled to modify its attitude considerably by adopting a "selective" immigration policy instead of its previous encouragement of maximum immigration. Further, the current economic difficulties have acted as a natural brake on the willingness of prospective immigrants, and there has even been some re-emigration of disappointed new-comers.

But in spite of all this, there remains the unprecedented fact that a democratically ruled state in which the will of the people prevails, has doubled its population within five years! Whether this breath-taking venture will finally result in success or failure, nobody can as yet predict. But whatever the outcome — he is a bold man who, in the face of these facts, still maintains the Marxist dogma that man acts according to his economic interests and that mere ideas are historically ineffectual.

Arthur M. Prinz is Associate Professor in the Department of Economics at Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania.

THE RAILROADS IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

Maurice P. Moffatt and Stephen G. Rich

How important a role the railroads have played and still are playing in American life, as formative factors, is hard to overestimate. Yet there is a contemporary tendency to neglect their significance. The role of the railroads began at the end of the handicraft period and has continued uninterruptedly through the various successive epochs of society, including those now dominant or now beginning. Thus, the industrialist rightly states that we live in the steel age of modern civilization, while the physical scientist may equally correctly state that we are entering the atomic age. Through these changes the railroads have met the challenge that every new stage has brought.

Other means of transportation, especially of passenger carriage, have become much more conspicuous in our own day. But the fact still remains that the railroads are the nation's basal arteries of commerce and travel. The additional methods of travel, competing with them, which have come into being by technological progress in the past half century, have in the last three decades assumed a prominence which distracts our attention from the railroads.

The role of the railway is therefore too apt to be overlooked in the social studies program. Indeed, so fully has the success of safety education within the rail transport industry been overshadowed by the inadequacy of safety work on the highways, that we have herein the almost perfect example of how the railroads are the "forgotten men" of American economic life.

Time was when the railroads had the same glamor in the eyes of children and adolescents that the shiny and fast sports roadster now has. The old-fashioned excursions, which took the whole family on a rail outing, catered to this liking for the glamor of the railroad. The prime journey of this sort was the trip to Niagara Falls . . . from Minnesota and Kentucky as well as from Central New York State or Vermont.

What American youth of the days of the turn of the century, whether from the farm or the small town, did not look to the day when he might be a fireman or a brakeman and eventually, after years of service, an engineer or a conductor! This glamor still prevails: on bridges small boys gaze admiringly as the Diesel "growler" pulls a streamliner under them at speed, or a big GG electric locomotive of the Pennsylvania Railroad slides under the catenary at 100 miles an hour. The passing of the steam locomotive has not

killed the glamor of the rails . . . save for nostalgic old-timers.

This lure of the rails is no different from that which pulled these same youngsters' parents or grandparents to watch the long freights, some double-headed, as they went past in older days. Even as now, the previous generation loved to watch for the cars of various roads with their insignia — sometimes pictorial and gay. Then as now, railfans exclaimed with joy at seeing a "side door Pullman"** from some strange road such as Temagami and Northern Ontario, the Monon, or the Chicago and Eastern Illinois; or with the Mountain Goat emblem of the Great Northern or the Southern Pacific's sunset device. Even as now, youngsters counted cars and were in rapture when they had actually seen a 100-car train passing.

In pre-telephone days, the railroad station was the center of communication as well as of transportation for each community. Barring the cities, the telegraph office was always located in the railroad station, with the station agent usually the telegraph operator. Thus, one went to the station to send a message, and might even get word to call for one there. Since the first telegraphs, and indeed almost all telegraphs until very lately, were located along railroad rights of way, the station was the normal site for a telegraph office. In many small communities, as even today in some commuting villages near the larger cities, the post office was also in the railroad station . . . the "depot" or "deppo" as it usually was called in earlier days.

Nor is it too obvious to the modern mind that the railroad is the earliest form of modern business organization. We can too easily forget that, prior to the turn of the century, the great aggregations of capital and management were not industrial concerns for the most part, but railroads. A look at a stock market newspaper page even as late as 1900, will show that finance and exchange were concerned with railroad stocks and bonds far more than with those of any other field. Standard Oil, General Electric, and Western Union Telegraph were almost the only major non-railroad securities reported. Even these were small concerns around 1900, as judged by 1953 standards.

This preeminence of the railroads in business was even more striking in the "Gilded Age" of the 1870's . . . the age when the major financial scandal of the nation had been the Credit Mobilier graft in building the Union Pacific Railroad. The first great consolidations were in rails, not in industries. Probably that of 1853, when ten small lines were united to form the New York Central Railroad, the main

*This name for a box car may not be known outside of railroad and railfan circles.

line from Albany to Buffalo, was the pioneer — with the 1869 merger of this and the Hudson River Railroad as the earliest of the modern type. We must however, admit that telegraphs also went through a period of combines, with its peak in 1859.

Comparatively forgotten is the strenuous effort made by many a community, often a large one, to attract a railroad to enter that locality. Not only was it done to get a railroad at all, but to get competing or connecting lines to reach that particular place. Accessibility, being a prime determiner of trade, even today as in earlier days, was sought by every wide-awake town or city. Fostoria, Ohio, long just another place not on a through line, went all out to get the Nickel Plate Road in 1881. From that time on, Fostoria really flourished. Chicago was made the great midwestern mart by virtue of the old Illinois law requiring that any railroad entering the state must have a terminal within it.

We now turn to the role of the railroads as the major unifying factor during our national growth. Allowing all possible credit to all other means of transportation and communication, we have to realize that the mobility which the railroad gave to the people of North America has been the most significant factor in creating the ties which bound the states together. A striking example of this comes from north of the border. When the Dominion of Canada was formed, the first major project was the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad to unite the Maritime Provinces, Old Canada, the prairies and British Columbia. The new Free Kingdom recognized from the start the unifying role of the railroad.

Indeed, there are some historians who have put up the very attractive explanation that the North held together in 1861 to 1865 while the South disintegrated, simply because the North already had a well developed railroad network. The colonization projects of the railroads, which had to cash in on their land grants, are well known and perhaps amply recorded in the annals of the settlement of almost every area west of Kansas City.

Both as to commerce and as to personal contact between people of various sections, the railroads have been and continue to be the major means. Shoemaking and textile-weaving New England could hardly have reached its peak without the ready access to raw materials via the rail lines to the west and ready access to markets via these same routes. New England, without substantial iron production of its own, was early linked by rail to Pennsylvania, its main sources thereof. The wagon and carriage factories of Marietta, Ohio

and South Bend, Ind., depended fundamentally on the rail lines for distribution of their products.

This situation is now being restored, after the period of truck competition. The 1952 and 1953 developments by which truck trailers are loaded onto special flat cars, hauled by rail, and taken in tow by tractors at rail terminals, have restored to the rails part of the business that is normally theirs. These developments are not yet found in all parts of the country, but out of Chicago and out of Boston they are already significant.

We have thus far mentioned the unifying function of the rails mainly in certain specific cases within our own country. Let us not imagine that we are unique in this respect. The Canadian portion of our North American unification by rail has had reference. On other continents, a similar condition exists. Thus, being settled primarily within the railroad era, southern Africa literally was brought under plow and into mining development just beyond the railhead. The great gold mines of the Witwatersrand were only a short trek, of a few days, by ox wagon beyond the railhead at Kimberley when they were discovered. Less than 20 years elapsed between the first rail line reaching Johannesburg and the establishment of the unified Free Kingdom, Union of South Africa.

Australia, we might note, like Canada, marked its attainment of nationhood by construction of a national transcontinental rail line. Russia, too, with its Trans-Siberian Railway in the 1890's, saw the need for this essential unifying means. These are only the most conspicuous among hosts of cases which could well be cited, did space permit. No doubt each reader of this can recall instances which he may think are even more striking.

From the social studies point of view, the successive technical developments of our railroads have interest. Each arose from a felt need, and each had results exceeding satisfaction of that need alone. A brief review of the major ones may well be of use. The preliminary or experimental period, with strap and T-rails, single and double driver engines, wood versus coal burners, etc. can be omitted, since it was over by 1860.

Around 1870 the first major technical development was the increased loading gage. Prior to this era, rolling stock was no wider, no higher, than that now in use in the subways of Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, or New York. The added width and height did not merely allow of loading more tons of freight onto the same car. They made possible a new and more comfortable passenger car. They allowed locomotives to be greatly increased in power, with tenders

carrying fuel and water for longer uninterrupted runs. The remaking of bridges and tunnels to accommodate the larger rolling stock was an occasion for removal of sharp curves and even some steep grades. Thus speed hitherto undreamed of save as an advertising stunt, could become regular practice.

Around 1880 and for a few years thereafter, a little known change was of vast significance. Prior to that period, it was not possible, for example, to run a through car, passenger or freight, between New York and New Orleans, except by actually rebuilding it in part on the way. South of the Ohio River, the gage of the track was 5 feet. North thereof, it was 4 feet 9 inches or 4 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. (In earlier days the Erie Railroad had been a lone wolf with a 6-foot gage, and the Grand Trunk, Portland to Montreal to Chicago, with 5 feet).

One after another, the southern lines were made standard gage, so that any car and engine could go anywhere in the country save on the few roads of special narrow gage (3 feet). No longer did a train have to wait at Covington, Ky. or Richmond, Va. while the cars were lifted off trucks of one gage and onto those of another, in cumbrous regaging installations. The repercussion of this unification of gage was an immediate extension of railroad building to open up the lumber, iron and coal sections of Georgia and Alabama. Alabama, practically ruined during the "Late Unpleasantness" (as many veterans on each side called it), was literally settled anew after the chance to nation-wide uniform gage.

Beginning in 1904, with the first Mallet engine, an immense increase in hauling power of locomotives went on among American railways. For the first time, it was possible to take full advantage of the previous technological advance, the air brake. Now and only now was it possible to add sufficient protective structure to passenger cars so that injury to a passenger became most unusual. Now and only now, could full economy be attained in hauling freight. It is at this stage that we discover that the railroad actually carry goods at less per ton mile than Great Lakes shipping or barges on canals. (For the inquiring student, we must state that in so figuring, we have taken the hidden costs, the Federal "pork-barrel" and state contributions to waterway development, into the costs of hauling otherwise than by rail.)

The technical development of the railroads went on slowly until perhaps 1934. That is the year in which the first streamliners ran on rails. The automotive industry had accustomed a very large portion of the American people to riding in pleasing surroundings and

with speed. Fast, modern, attractive and comfortable, the "Zephyrs" of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad brought passenger traffic off the highways. Other roads followed suit in short order, more particularly those radiating westward from Chicago.

Starting before the last World War was the most recent technical advance of the railroads. It has gathered momentum in recent years. The plain fact was that all motive power hitherto in use was too small in tractive effort to meet new conditions. One might have thought that double-heading trains with steam locomotives would have solved that problem. Why it failed to do so is in dispute. But the advent of the Diesel-electric engine, enabling faster service or more freight in a trainload, at small increase of operative cost, again turned the tide of traffic to the railroads.

In one way, this development is most curious, because it is the result of the entrance of other industries into the supplying of rail equipment. The prime mover in introducing the Diesel "growler" was not a rail equipment or locomotive company, but General Motors, from the automobile field. Its chief rival was another utter outsider, General Electric; and its next competitor was another outsider, a gas engine maker, Fairbanks-Morse. For that matter, the old Baldwin and Lima locomotive companies came into this growth only by literal annexation to the electric firm of Westinghouse.

Incidental to these major technological developments were the development of the sleeping car, from Pullman's crude 1859 experiment through the period in the 1880's and 1890's when Webster Wagner devised the type we now have in more developed form. (How many know that Wagner Sleeping Car Co. was bigger than Pullman when the two were combined around 1899?) Another innovation, which became practical only with the higher speeds and through car service which the changes of 1890 allowed, was the refrigerator car in which perishable produce could be brought to market.

The role of the railroads as promotor of engineering achievements has perhaps not had due consideration. Yet it was the needs of the rail lines that led to many of the striking steps in development of modern engineering practice.

This is not so readily realized because the actual structures have in too many cases been replaced by still newer ones. Thus, the need to cross Niagara River, when the Canada Southern (now Michigan Central) and the New York Central wanted contact, led to the greatest step taken at one time in the development of the suspension bridge. John Roebling provided the needed bridge, in response to the railroads' need. This bridge was adequate for many years, but

has long since been replaced by a modern steel arch; only its name remains, in the railroad junction still called "Suspension Bridge, N. Y."

Tunnelling could hardly have attained its present status without the pushing force of railroad needs. Literally the first advance on medieval mine tunneling was made for a rail tunnel in England in 1837: the Box Tunnel, masterpiece of Isambard Brunel. The first attempt at a really long tunnel was the plan for the Hoosac Tunnel in Massachusetts: and the first long tunnel actually finished was the railroad tunnel, Mont Cenis in the Alps. The development of tunneling has probably reached its American climax in the new Cascade tunnel in our own Northwest, and in the Moffatt Tunnel that let the rails through the Rockies west of Denver, Colorado.

We who ride our automobiles over long and high viaducts rarely realize that, except for the road surface, these are the bridges and trestles developed in railway usage during more than a century. It was on railroad building that almost every type of bridge and viaduct now used found its first application and its development.

Even the abandoned and never-completed railroads of our country have at least interest and sometimes significance. Most conspicuous of abandoned lines is naturally the Florida East Coast, from Miami to Key West across the chain of islands. From the point of view of a rail line paying its way this never justified itself. Since its abandonment, it has become a state highway. Key West would surely have remained a backward and undeveloped community, however, had not this railroad existed. A curious phase of abandonment is that of the Colorado Midland Railroad, which supplied all the needed rails for the U. S. Military Railroad lines in France during World War I (save those taken from the Rockaway Valley Railroad, in New Jersey, a short line abandoned at the same period). This pair of roads, both of them business failures, nevertheless played their part in that national emergency.

As for railroads never completed, one can find their embankments and even bridge piers in many parts of the country. The most famous is the South Pennsylvania, from Reading to Pittsburgh, whose right of way was acquired after sixty years for the Pennsylvania Turnpike. The traveller along the Hoosick River, from Williamstown, Mass. towards Troy, N. Y. will see relics there of an abandoned line which was designated to parallel the present Boston & Maine, but later torn up.

Some roads may have interest and significance because they are interpolations into an existing rail net, even as were intended to be

those never completed. Probably the most conspicuous such case, because the interpolated road has become the core of a large system, is the Nickel Plate. This was built in 1881-82, closely paralleling the Lake Shore & Michigan Southern (now New York Central main line) from Buffalo to Chicago. It lagged for many years, for reasons not here important, but has long since taken its place as a major freight route.

Few who use it realize that for almost half its length the Lackawanna Railroad is a similarly interpolated line. Until 1882, this railroad ran from New York harbor (at Hoboken, N. J.) to Binghamton, Syracuse and Oswego only. In that year, its extension to Buffalo made it an interpolated competitor of the Erie. After 1900 the business, freight and passenger alike, grew so extensive on this route that both railroads prospered.

A curious interpolation is the West Shore Railroad, built in that same period of the 1880's to compete against the New York Central. The story of this and the never-finished South Pennsylvania is one of the interesting cases of two major rail groups trying to invade each other's territory. But the West Shore, instead of becoming a menace to the New York Central, ended up as an integral part of that system that provides a very heavily used freight route to New York.

We have referred, early in this article, to rail consolidations in the earliest years. That process has never ended. Right as we write, several possible consolidations are in the making. The curious jockeying among companies as to which one should absorb another, and the cases in which an absorbed system has been split up, are often intriguing. Space does not allow us to give more than a few cases.

There was a road, called sometimes St. Louis & San Francisco and at others Atlantic & Pacific, during its various reorganizations. The Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad acquired this around 1890. Instead of incorporating it fully into their own system, they kept permanently only the western prong, under the name of Atlantic & Pacific. That is now their main line between Isleta, N. Mexico and Needles, California (or the bridge just east of that torrid town). The remainder of the system, save for some Arizona lines, was disposed of, and to this day is a rail entity of its own, the "Frisco Lines."

The student interested in such doings can be left to find their stories in the many books for railfans which have appeared in re-

cent years. Thus, referring him to Harlow*, we may let him discover about the jockeyings of Boston & Albany versus New Haven for the New York & New England Railroad; the surrounding of the Concord Railroad by the roads now the Boston & Maine, and so on.

Rail consolidation is not peculiar to the United States. Where railroads have been privately owned, anywhere in the world, this same process has taken place. The British railroads, in the period of 1845 to 1865, quite matched our most flamboyant financial doings of this sort. Government-owned railroads are in the same picture, as when in 1903, the Transvaal and Orange River Colony formed jointly the Central South African Railways.

In concluding this discussion, we wish to revert to our main thesis lest its emphasis be lost in the mass of interesting side issues. Not the Erie Canal, nor the Mohawk Gap itself, but the rail lines through that gap, were the significant features of our history. Not the Oregon Trail, but the Union Pacific following it, was the nation-building feature. In short, we do not limit our thinking to the glamor of the rails, but consider that no other factor has done so much as the railroads to enhance our national development. As in the previous eras, the railroads now continue to be the major mode of transportation within our economy. As such, they deserve extended treatment within the social studies program.

Our task in this article has been to emphasize this thesis and give as many presumably typical or striking examples, useful in the everyday work of education, as practicable.

*Alvin F. Harlow; *Steelways of New England*: New York, Creative Press, Inc., 1946, 447 pp.

Maurice P. Moffatt is Professor of Education at Montclair Teachers College, Montclair, New Jersey and a member of the Board of the Payne Educational Sociology Foundation.

Stephen G. Rich is a member of the Board of the Payne Educational Sociology Foundation.

OUR FRIENDS THE KOBAYASHIS

Experiences in International Amity

Alice Crow

We hear a great deal these days concerning international understanding and world-mindedness. It becomes necessary, therefore, to develop a faith among people in our sincere interest in them as individuals. This attitude has been clearly demonstrated in our experiences with our friends, the Kobayashis, and other Japanese men and women with whom my husband was associated during his stay in Japan.

From August of 1950 to April of 1951, my husband served in Japan as a Visiting Expert in a teacher education program. He, with other American educational consultants, was there at the invitation of the Department of the Army to work with selected Japanese college and university professors who were responsible for teacher education in their country. The purpose of the project was to help the Japanese reorganize their teacher education program more democratically and in line with modern educational ideals and procedures.

The experience was most worthwhile to both of us. My husband gained much in understanding as he lived and worked with these Japanese educators. At long range, I, too, shared his experiences by way of his daily letters and many letters from his Japanese coworkers. I also achieved a new perspective of people, who, in the past, I had considered very different from myself.

The Japanese educational leaders appeared to be intensely interested in American educational philosophy. Under my husband's guidance, his professors wrote and had published an Educational Psychology and a workbook in the same field. They seemed eager to get his point of view, and he was called upon many times to address groups other than his own in various areas of teacher education. Moreover, books written by my husband and myself in the fields of mental hygiene, educational psychology, and guidance were read avidly by his Japanese coworkers, all of whom had been selected to come to Tokyo on the basis of their ability to read English.

Important as it may be for the Japanese to re-evaluate their own educational system in light of what our consultants had to offer in the way of suggestion and encouragement, the chief value of the project lay in the area of human relationships. Outgoing attitudes, mutual respect, appreciation of others, and friendships are effectively caught as people live together and share common experiences.

Happily, these human relationships we continue to experience by way of letters that still are interchanged between our Japanese friends and ourselves.

The interchange of gifts and greeting cards and the visits of Japanese in our home attest to the warm feeling of friendship that has developed between my husband and his Japanese associates. One outstanding illustration of constructive internationalism is the warm and lasting friendship that has developed between the Kobayashi family and the Crows.

The American consultants were not familiar with the Japanese language. Hence, an interpreter was assigned to each.

My husband's interpreter was Kazuko Kobayashi, a graduate of Tsuda College in Tokyo. Her sincere attempt to gain proficiency in her assignment was one of the fine qualities that gained for her my husband's respect and admiration. However, it was through his letters to me that I developed an appreciation of the help that she was giving him.

There were many ways in which Kazuko Kobayashi and her family gave evidence of their kindly interest in their American friend and thoughtfulness concerning his welfare. For example, when my husband entertained his group of Japanese professors, Kazuko entered whole-heartedly into the spirit of the occasion and took charge of all those details that are a woman's contribution to the success of a party.

On another occasion, my husband was planning to visit a school in an outlying section of Tokyo. Since he could not read the Japanese markings on trains and streetcars, Kazuko volunteered, at great discomfort to herself, to meet him early in the morning and make sure that he reached his destination.

My husband visited the Kobayashi's home several times, where he spent many hours in pleasant exchange of ideas with professor Kobayashi, Mrs. Kobayashi and their two boys. He also met some



Kazuko Kobayashi with Dr. Crow and Yoshio.

of their close relatives. The boys made friends very easily and were eager to be with 'Dr. Crow.' They knew only a few words in English yet they were able to recognize his kindly interest in and affection for them.

Since both my husband and I are engaged in teacher education work and co-operate in our writing, his Japanese coworkers came to know me at long range. Hence, Mrs. Kobayashi was moved to write to me about her work and herself. Her first letter to me reveals much better than I can the fine person she is. I was deeply touched when this letter reached me in November of 1950 — just three months after my husband had arrived in Japan.

November 18, 1950

My dear Mrs. Crow,

It is Saturday today, and I do hope that you are having a good week end. How are you? I heard from Dr. L. D. Crow that at the beginning of this month you had toothache. I have been worrying about you since then . . .

Yes, I am Dr. Crow's interpreter. I have been wanting to write to you but did not have time.

Please do not worry about your husband. He is a very generous, efficient and accomplished person. Almost half the IFEL (Institute for Educational Leadership) workshops have invited him to give them lectures . . .

This is my first experience as an interpreter. I have been enjoying interpreting in psychology and my friends envy me. I beg your pardon, only talking about myself, but please read more about my personal history . . .

My father died when I was at Tsuda College and all my hope to go abroad vanished with him. After graduation from Tsuda College I taught English at Girls' High School for three and one-half years. Then I married.

My husband is an assistant professor at University of Liberal Arts, where they also train teachers. He is a teacher of biology, especially botany. His name is Masuo Kobayashi. We have two boys. The elder one is eight years old. His name is Kunihiko. The younger is almost three years old. His name is Yoshio.

Do you disapprove of a mother going out every day to work? Of course, my husband at first did not agree. However, my elder sister, who is a widow, has offered to help me and she has been taking care of our children and everything . . .

Now can you understand me? One of the reasons why I began to write to you today was to express my thanks to you. We, all the participants, were invited to a dinner party by Dr. Crow last evening. He entertained us most warmly and we had such a nice time. My only regret at that time was that *you* were not with us . . .

Now I must stop chattering. Next Monday Dr. Crow will give his group a lecture on Life Adjustment as found in your book "Educational Psychology."

Hoping you are always happy and in good health,

Yours sincerely,

Kazuko Kobayashi

I must admit that I found it a little difficult to formulate my letter in reply. However, sincerity was met with sincerity. I must have set the right tone in my reply since this interchange of letters started a friendship across the ocean that has continued and has strengthened as the months and now the years have gone along.

Japanese wives still follow the wishes of their husbands without too much questioning. If Professor Kobayashi had demanded that his wife stop her work as an interpreter, she would have done so without a murmur. In fact, she remarked to my husband one day that she might not be permitted to continue as an interpreter. Laughingly, my husband asked her what she would do if he told her to continue even though her husband forbade her to do so. Her answer was simple "Do as my husband says." The fine attitude of her husband is evidenced by the fact that he has not interfered, since he realizes how much these contacts mean to her. Fortunately, before my husband left Japan he was able to secure for her another assignment as an interpreter. Consequently, she is continuing as an interpreter in the American Embassy in Tokyo.

Letters received from Kazuko Kobayashi tell better than I can of her interest in us and our doings. More than that, these letters give a strong indication of the hopes for real democracy in Japan that is felt by so many of the thinking Japanese. Although all or most of these letters probably would be interesting to our readers, space does not allow for more than excerpts from a few of the letters that have continued to come to us. These contain reminiscences, confidences, bits of gossip, and the chit chat that are the signs of warm friendships.

Dec. 11, 1950. (Concerning a gift of wool for a sweater for herself) I have not been able to buy wool for myself. Yes, nowadays,

we middle class and so-called intelligent class people cannot afford to buy clothes for the wife. We wives are sacrificing our vanity and buy only necessary things for our husbands and children . . . I know that they (the group of professors) have received, besides educational psychology, much good influence from Dr. Crow.

Jan. 9, 1951. My joy nowadays is good will and friendship that you and Dr. Crow have bestowed on me and family. . . All of us should join in a prayerful wish that warm feeling between individuals would overcome evil power.

March 29, 1951. On Monday, in the evening, Dr. Crow invited us to Dai Iti Hotel (under control of Army of Occupation). How nice it was! We had a completely friendly atmosphere. Dr. Crow told us of Professor Okabe's visit to your home and how he tried to tie Obi. (A Japanese educator who, at the suggestion of my husband, visited me in my home when he was on a 90 day trip to this country.)

April 3, 1951. Now Dr. Crow's leaving time for America is coming near. How we have appreciated his scholastic attitude, knowledge, efficiency and whole personality . . . What Dr. Crow has done for our country is not only in educational psychology field but a greater job in human relationships.

May 8, 1951. (After my husband's return home) Everybody in my family begs to be remembered to both of you. Yoshio says 'Here is Dr. Crow' whenever he looks at a picture of an American.

July 20, 1951. On 19th GARIOA students set sail for America! How my heart ached. I should like to go to see both of you . . . My dream or ideal is that all my family can visit you. I will bring up children worthy of going abroad as Japanese representatives.

July 29, 1951. I am very happy that you suggested to me to write 'Alice,' It is a lovely name. My name means long life and happiness. Alice, how shall I address your husband?

September 21, 1951. The other day there was CIE picnic for families. On that day, Yoshio gazed and gazed at Dr. Loomis, and when Dr. Loomis noticed and smiled at him, He said, 'How do you do, Dr. Crow!' We were very much surprised. Dr. Loomis said, 'It is a great honor to be called Dr. Crow,' and he enjoyed it.

January 20, 1952. (Mr. Kobayashi) I request your friendship and guidance more and more, personally and officially.

February 19, 1952. Yesterday the Japanese-American administrative agreement was signed. I hope that everybody in the world can contribute to world peace . . . I again thank you very much for

finding me the job . . . Everybody in my family wishes good luck to you.

April 28, 1952. My heart aches again when my friends are talking of going to your country. I hope that both of YOU will never, never forget me.

May 30, 1952. The other day I told Miss Whipple of the American Embassy that the success of the Occupation policies entirely depended upon the character of the people concerned and I explained to her how Japanese participants in your class respected and loved you.

Nov. 27, 1952. Alice, I got special inspiration from your letter especially from the line, 'Maybe, some day, we shall have a real visit together!'

January 3, 1953. Now it is New Year, and I salute you as Japanese do 'O-ME-DE-TO' and best wishes for 1953. It is our custom to visit or write cards to our seniors on New Year's season and this is the first letter in this 1953 — to my best friends.

February 20, 1953. Thank you very much for your letter from Florida. Indeed you are very wonderful writing to me even on your busy trip. I thoroughly appreciated your warm letter.

April 26, 1953. Full two years have passed since Lester left Japan. I, husband and children are waiting and waiting for your telegram telling us that you are coming to visit us. Now the weather is mild and green is very nice . . . Kunihiko is in fifth grade. He was elected as one of three boys (class Committee) to take care of class. He is studying hard and his school record is good.

Mrs. Kobayashi reflects the attitudes of the people of all nations concerning the relations that should exist among individuals. She has confirmed a belief held by many of us, that differences between people and nations usually are based upon misunderstanding. Respect for each other combined with a sincere attempt to bridge superficial differences can do much to spread the ideal of international co-operation that expresses itself in personal friendliness and mutual give and take.

Alice Crow is Assistant Professor of Education at Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, New York.

WHAT IS YOUR DEPARTMENTAL M. Q. (MORALE QUOTIENT)?

I. David Satlow

The efficacy of a supervisory program is often judged by the morale it engenders among staff members. Just exactly what is meant by morale? What is it that makes the morale of one department high, while that of another is low? How can a proper state of morale be achieved? Essentially the term, morale, stems from the field of social psychology and is used to denote a state of feeling, reflecting emotionalized attitudes of the group involved. The word is derived from the same root as *morals* (in religion) and *mores* (in sociology) which govern thoughts, feelings and actions that pertain to group cohesion and survival.

Morale is an intangible but nonetheless pervasive force. Its presence or absence makes for a good or poor department, for without it there is very little teamwork and the individual teaching performance is uninspiring.

Morale per se is not something that can be voted into being or even discussed at departmental conferences. *Morale is the end-product of conditions and relationships that characterize the department.* Once achieved, proper morale becomes the rich soil in which activities flourish through the eager participation of the individuals concerned.

Low morale is a state of group mind, the symptoms of which are readily discernible. Some of the more common symptoms follow:

1. A spirit of defeatism, accompanied by self-pity at being a teacher, or a teacher of a specific subject area or level.
2. A sense of futility, accompanied by a feeling that the work is meaningless, that one's talents are being wasted, that the field of teaching is a blind alley with no opportunity for advancement.
3. A feeling of being exploited or discriminated against by the administration or by the department head, which feeling is intensified when accompanied by a suspicion of favoritism toward others.
4. A feeling that no one is interested in them.
5. Suspicion of the supervisor and of fellow teachers.
6. Dissension among staff members.

7. Uncertainty as to "where they stand," how the departmental chairman or principal will react to situations likely to arise.
8. Fear of reprisal or punitive measures.

The causes for the symptoms may be hidden, the specific situations that gave rise to the low state of morale may have been forgotten, but the effect remains. In general, the feeling of group frustration that settles itself in the form of low morale is the result of the crushing of initiative, of constant criticism of a derogatory nature, and of the failure to solicit teachers' opinions on school and departmental problems. The working conditions of teachers in an environment of this kind are usually charged with tensions and consequently lead to physical strain and emotional exhaustion. Staff members shift for themselves, with sharing at a minimum, and there is no one to lift them from a pedestrian existence. There is much "gripping," even to outsiders, with no pride in faculty or departmental membership.

As against the unwholesome state described above, what supervisory practices are conducive to proper morale? Any and all that recognize the principles of *democracy*, *human relations* and *mental hygiene*. These practices can permeate every aspect of the conduct of a department, whether it be the programming of teachers, distribution of departmental duties and chores, conduct of conferences, development of instructional materials, observation of teaching or testing the outcomes of the instructional program.

Teachers in general are sensitive to the way in which the departmental load is distributed. If an honest attempt is made at distributing classes equitably in terms of degree of desirability, of the number of preparations, of hours of work, of grades of work taught, and if the chairman assumes some of the less desirable offerings, the department members welcome his sincerity of purpose and adopt a favorable attitude toward the department and what it stands for. An equitable distribution of departmental duties among all the teachers together with the pursuance of a policy of rotation brings the teachers one step further toward favorable morale.

Departmental conferences afford opportunities for the pooling and sharing of ideas when questions taken up meet a long-felt need, when problems considered are problems which are real to the teachers, and when opinions of staff members are solicited and welcomed. Teachers are quick to discern the measure of planning for the conference, and welcome one that is conducted with due regard for their time. Worthwhile meetings promote group feeling. Group plan-

ning and group participation contribute to a high degree of cohesion within the department.

Teachers receive a spiritual lift when their participation is sought in the construction of syllabi and in the selection of text books and other instructional materials. An atmosphere favorable to the formation of proper morale is created when the chairman assumes the lead in sharing with his teachers materials which he devised for his own classes, but does not make the use of these materials mandatory. Such atmosphere is continued through an equitable distribution of new equipment, textbooks and supplies as they arrive.

The visitation program becomes an important vehicle for developing departmental morale when the chairman utilizes the program as a means for understanding the problems faced by teachers in their daily work and when through his attitude he expresses eagerness to help solve these problems. When criticism aims at commendation rather than condemnation and points the way for further improvement and growth, a basis for professional growth is established.

Avoidance of a visit during the first period on a Monday and the last period on a Friday will eliminate suspicion on the part of teachers as to the honorableness of the chairman's intentions. In addition, the very act of publicizing among department members the good practices observed helps bolster morale of individual members observed and encourages the others to "put their best foot forward."

The testing program is an excellent means for obtaining cooperative action among department members. Teachers welcome the opportunity to share in the construction of tests that are to be used for appraising learning in the department. Teachers are encouraged in their work when they are entrusted with the questions of the examination; they are discouraged when the scope or content of the examinations is withheld from them. Encouragement leads to a high degree of morale; discouragement, to low morale.

These are but a few of the areas in which proper morale can be nurtured. Recourse can also be had to any of the following practices that are conducive to sound morale: the pooling of teaching aids; joint subscription to publications, to luncheons; the cooperative lending library; serving together in workshops; taking over the classes of an absent colleague; coming to the assistance of a colleague in organizing subject matter; cooperative lesson planning; helping to make a colleague's classroom attractive and livable; reading a colleague's manuscript; going over an address which a colleague is to deliver; and rejoicing in the success of a colleague. All of the aforementioned activities involve sharing, doing things together, doing

things for one another — in short, getting to feel that one is not alone, but rather part of a group.

Then we have the larger question of human relations that is not to be overlooked. By championing teacher's rights (both as to teaching load and building assignment), by advocating the rotation of both desirable and undesirable homeroom and administrative assignments and committee memberships among the members of various departments, by treating all teachers as human beings, and by encouraging social life among the department members, the chairman can exercise initiative on the human-relations front which will reflect itself in sound morale. Through increased opportunities for working together, sharing together, playing together, the staff members will become better acquainted and will get to feel that they are part of a happy group interested in the realization of common goals, that there is someone interested in them and their opinions, and that they are recognized for what they are.

When the chairman gives credit to a teacher for the slightest amount of ingenuity or initiative and does not arrogate all credit to himself, when the chairman analyzes periodically the reports required of teachers with a view toward eliminating unnecessary paper-work, when the chairman invokes democratic principles and has teachers share in the shaping of departmental policies, when the chairman encourages teachers to advance professionally, when the office becomes a department office rather than the chairman's office, and when teachers gravitate toward this office instead of away from it, we can be reasonably certain that department morale is on a high plane.

I. David Satlow is Department Head at the Thomas Jefferson High School, Brooklyn, New York.

EDUCATORS AND CULTURE-FAIR INTELLIGENCE TESTS

William C. Budd

In recent years a considerable amount of research has been done to assay the effect of socioeconomic status upon the measured intelligence of children. Present day intelligence tests have been characterized as "culturally biased" and attempts have been made to produce "culture-fair" tests. The greater part of the research on this problem has come from the group at the University of Chicago. Their latest book¹ is representative of this point of view.

In general, the position taken by this group is that the child from the lower socioeconomic classes is unjustly penalized by current intelligence tests. This occurs because the test items assume and are based upon a middle or upper class background. It is said, for example, that they stress unduly verbal thinking and reasoning as opposed to "thing" thinking. In technical jargon, the tests simply are not considered valid as indexes of intelligence for the lower class child.

Now it is nothing new to point out that present day intelligence tests do contain a certain amount of cultural bias. Sociologists and psychologists have long recognized this situation. They agree that such tests simply do not allow a considerable proportion of children to exhibit their true abilities. Yet no concerted effort has been made to replace these tests with a more sociologically valid instrument. Why should this seeming indifference exist?

Perhaps the most logical reason can be found in the requirements of the greatest consumer of intelligence tests, the educators. It is not too difficult to believe that a tacit assumption exists among educators that intelligence tests *should* be biased in favor of the middle classes. After all, intelligence is what it is only by definition and to them the proper definition is cast in terms of a middle class culture. Not only are most educators of middle class background but the constructors of the tests are also of middle class backgrounds. Quite naturally they would exhibit a middle class bias.

From their point of view the tests are inherently more valid because they are culturally biased. One criterion of such a test is its ability to predict success, both in school and in later life. If success is defined as the making of a significant contribution to society, such success will most likely occur in a middle class culture. The men who

¹Kenneth Eels, Allison Davis, Robert J. Havighurst, Virgil E. Herrick, and Ralph Tyler. *Intelligence and Cultural Differences: Study of Cultural Learning and Problem-Solving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

have contributed the most to society and whose names embellish the pages of history were not those who failed to rise above a lowly background. It is this type of individual for whom the average teacher is constantly searching.

Consequently it is unlikely that educators will be much impressed with such culture-fair intelligence tests even if they can be produced. To their pragmatic minds the process would seem so much a splitting of hairs. Teachers and administrators feel they know the "good" students in their schools and present day intelligence tests largely corroborate their judgment. It is therefore difficult to envisage the time when the present tests will be replaced in a very practical way by such newer and theoretically more valid instruments.

William C. Budd is Assistant Professor of Education at Goucher College at Towson, Maryland.

BOOK REVIEWS

National Council For The Social Studies. *THE TEACHING OF CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS*. 21st yr. bk., edited by John C. Payne. Menasha, Wisconsin: George Ranta Publishing Co., (c. 1950.) 233 pp.

Assessing the role and tracing the evolutionary process of public opinion, *The Teaching of Contemporary Affairs* takes a dynamic and positive approach in its evaluation and critical analysis of the interrelationships between what was, what is, and what will be.

The basic thesis of this volume is that educational action can be a cogent force in the formation of a citizenry capable of interpreting facts as they actually exist.

The Teaching of Contemporary Affairs is not intended to serve as a breviary for the teacher or administrator: it does, however, serve as a source of methods and techniques that might be utilized in the teaching and treatment of current or contemporary affairs.

Although this volume is a composite of the viewpoints of many writers, there seems to be literary consensus on certain items:

- 1) Contemporary affairs can best be taught by an integrative process.
- 2) Relationships and analogies between current events and historical phenomena should be constantly observed.

- 3) The development of a critically thinking public is dependent, to a great degree, upon its interpretation of contemporary affairs.

The Teaching of Contemporary Affairs is a significant addition to that philosophy which considers education as an instrument for social control.

Michael Mescan

SOCIOLOGY IN EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE, by Clyde B. Moore and William E. Cole, New York: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1952, viii and 440 pp.

Professors Moore and Cole, respectively of Cornell University and the University of Tennessee, state that their new text ". . . is designed to describe and analyze educational policies and procedures and to improve educational practice by bringing together for the teacher (in preparation or in practice), the supervisor, the administrator and the lay reader, significant sociological data and principles which are applicable to educational practice and which are indicative of what educational policies and practices might be." (from the Preface, p. vii.)

While this may sound like an introduction which might have been written for a number of education-oriented sociologies of education published in the past, Moore and Cole, in this reviewer's opinion, have managed better than most authors in this field to keep a reasonable balance between the more theoretical materials of sociology and their apparent desire to provide a practical handbook for the use of educators in the determination and execution of school policies.

Beginning with discussions of learning and the forces conditioning it, including the social and cultural "setting," the authors proceed to discuss competently and sometimes provocatively various agencies of education, the family, childhood and youth groups, the church, and, of course, the school. There are chapters on education and the economic system, leisure, community relations, democratic ideology, population trends, minority and intergroup relations, class structure, curriculum construction, educational methods, social change, and social "progress."

While the book may perhaps be criticized as lacking an overall continuity and as having too many lists of "factors" or "conclusions" (giving in some cases an air of finality where no such finality is deserved), it is a welcome addition to the literature of the field of

the sociology of education. The discussion topics and the short bibliographies following each chapter are highly useful classroom tools.

Moore and Cole's *Sociology in Educational Practice*, supplemented by selected readings from other books and sociology journals, has proven interesting and teachable in this reviewer's sociology course on education, a senior and graduate course designed primarily for sociology majors. Schools of education, also, may well find the book useful in a variety of course offerings.

Blaine E. Mercer

Department of Social Sciences
University of Colorado
Boulder, Colorado

